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# **The Socialist Party:**

## **Indianapolis Convention Effects Union of All Parties Represented in Response to Call of the Social Democratic Party: *State Autonomy Guaranteed:* Immediate Demands Adopted After Prolonged Debate — Headquarters Located in St. Louis — The New Constitution.**

Unsigned report published in the *Social Democratic Herald* [Milwaukee],  
v. 4, no. 7, whole no. "159" (Aug. 17, 1901), pp. 2-3. †

The Socialists of the United States in convention at Indianapolis added an important chapter to the history of the movement, and gave, as we firmly believe, a new impetus to Socialism in this country. In response to the call adopted by the January [1901] convention of the Social Democratic Party with headquarters in Chicago, over 130 delegates representing the two main wings and four independent state and territorial organizations assembled in Masonic Temple, Indianapolis, at 10 o'clock in the morning of July 29, and during their deliberations extending through 4 days and 3 nights, disposed of the vexed question of unity. It was the largest national convention of Socialists ever held in this country, both as to the number of individual delegates present and the grand total of organized Socialists represented.

It is due each of the factions to say that the deliberations were marked by an intense desire for the welfare and advance of the cause of Socialism. The Chicago wing stood for a lasting union, and believed this could be accomplished only through state autonomy. All were anxious to keep personal questions and factional interests subordinate to the one great object of the occasion, the unification of the parties in the sole interest of a common devotion and loyalty alike inseparable from the life of every delegate on the floor.

This controlling passion of the assemblage was unmistakably evident as early as the first meeting of the Credentials Committee, when the members of that committee representing the Chicago wing tendered the records of National Secretary Theodore Debs to prove the validity of the claimed representation under the provisions of the call. The Springfield wing had no books; the [Chicago] delegates were willing to accept the word of the comrades on the other side without inspecting books and the representation they claimed was allowed.

### **Called to Order.**

The convention was called to order promptly at 10 o'clock by Comrade J.W. Kelley of Marion, Ind., representing the Chicago wing on the Committee of Arrangements, who read the calls issued from Chicago and Springfield, and in a few well chosen and felicitous words bade the delegates welcome and called for nominations for temporary Chairman.

Comrade George D. Herron was nominated and elected by acclamation.‡

Comrade Philip S. Brown was chosen unanimously for temporary Secretary.

On motion the convention then proceeded to elect a Committee of 10 on Credentials — 4 from

†- After the Joint Unity Convention of the Socialist Party, the former official organ of the Chicago-based Social Democratic Party, the *Social Democratic Herald*, moved to Milwaukee. The last Chicago issue (July 27, 1901) was whole number 160; the first Milwaukee issue (Aug. 17, 1901) was erroneously listed as whole no. "159." The error was never rectified.

‡- **George Herron**, a staunch advocate of unity and a Christian Socialist (rather than an adherent of the post-Populist Bernsteinian Marxism of the Chicago SDP or the post-SLP Kautskyism of the Springfield SDP) was a person both tendencies could agree upon.

Chicago, 4 from Springfield, and 2 from the independent organizations. The result was as follows:

*Chicago* — Thomas, Winchevsky, Westphal, Benessi.  
*Springfield* — Richter, Greenbaum, Hillquit, Hayes.  
*Independents* — Robinson, Jacobs.

A Committee on Rules similarly allotted to the different parties was elected as follows:

*Chicago* — Stedman and Seidel.  
*Springfield* — Ryan and Harriman.  
*Independents* — Dobbs.

Fraternal greetings were received and read from Eugene V. Debs; F. W. Ott, Laramie, Wyo.; *Forward* Association, New York; *Voice of Labor*, New York; "Mother" Jones; and others.

The noon hour having arrived, and adjournment was taken until 3 o'clock, when the committees were ordered to report.

When the convention reassembled the report of the Committee on Credentials was submitted by Comrade Morris Hillquit, showing 47 delegates from the Chicago wing, representing 1,402 votes; 70 from Springfield with 4,798; and 10 Independents with 352 votes.† During the two succeeding days the number of delegates from each party was increased, the total number represented swelled to nearly 7,000. There were delegates present from 20 states and 1 territory [Puerto Rico].

The report of the Committee on Rules brought up a debate on the question of parties voting separately on all important questions. Many of the delegates wanted all votes cast as one, but Comrade Berger on behalf of Chicago stood for a separate vote on the ground that the call required the submission of the work of the convention to a general vote of their party and members were entitled to know how del-

egates voted. The demand for a separate vote was finally agreed to upon the basis of a substitute offered by McCartney of Massachusetts, accepted by Berger and unanimously adopted: "The vote by roll call on all important questions shall be taken by the parties separately; the aye and nay votes of the respective parties shall be added, and the majority and minority votes of the convention as a whole be determined; the majority vote of the whole shall be the act of the convention."‡

Committees were then chosen as follows:

#### **Resolutions.**

*Chicago* — Hoehn.  
*Springfield* — Kelly.  
*Independents* — Seeds.

#### **Platform.**

*Chicago* — Berger, Haile, and Westphal.  
*Springfield* — Hillquit, Carey, and Simons.  
*Independents* — Dobbs.

#### **Constitution.**

*Chicago* — Stedman, McCartney, and Goebel.  
*Springfield* — Harriman, Morgan, and Mills.  
*Independents* — Robinson.

Late in the afternoon permanent organization was effected and Comrade Herron elected permanent Chairman, with Comrade William Mailly permanent Secretary.

### **Secretaries' Reports.**

The first order of business was the election of the Chairman for the Day, and the choice fell upon Comrade J.F. Carey.

The Secretaries of the national parties then offered their reports, which were read and accepted. The report of National Secretary Butscher [Springfield] showed that the committee had granted charters to

†- Voting was by a method akin to the modern corporate stockholders' meeting. Those wishing to attend the convention collected proxies from various locals representing the votes of those dues-payers not able to attend; delegates were then entitled to cast one vote for each proxy so accumulated. Thus, delegate Santiago Iglesias from Puerto Rico cast 483 votes, Morris Hillquit cast 337 votes, James Oneal of Terre Haute cast 18, and so on. See the complete delegate list at the end of this article for exact division of proxies. As stated earlier in this article, the Chicago SDP presented membership documentation for their 1,402 proxies, but the claim of the Springfield group to 4,798 was undocumented and should be regarded as significantly inflated. The claim of 352 by the Independents represented a seemingly reasonable sum. Since the Springfield SDP held a majority of those delegates attending in person and additionally seems clearly to have been the larger of the two organizations — combined with the fact that the results of the convention were subject to ratification by the Chicago SDP in a future referendum vote — the potentially divisive issue of "packing" was rendered moot. According to a May 25, 1912 article in the *Social Democratic Herald* reflecting upon the growth of the Socialist Party from its origins, the SPA at the time of its formation actually consisted of "about 4,000" members. This seems closer to the mark.

‡- That is, minority planks would be banned, thus presenting the Chicago SDP referendum with only a single choice.

137 new locals, with a membership of 1,497, bring the total of locals up to 229. Reports from 147 locals showed a present membership of 7,328, with 82 not reporting. The total receipts were stated to be \$4,187.66; total expenditures, \$4,167.22; cash on hand \$20.44. Dues stamps had been sold to the number of 52,579. Liabilities were \$677.02, covered by assets of \$853.29, with a surplus on account of \$176.27.

National Secretary Theodore Debs reported for the Chicago NEB. The report showed receipts since January 1, 1901, of \$3,707.01, and disbursements of \$3,637.64. Liabilities for loans and salaries were stated at \$1,083.55. He stated that a complete report would be given when the work of the convention is accomplished and his office transferred to his successor. He expressed his hope that unity would be effected and said that when relieved from office he would not be a candidate for any official position in the party.

F.G. Strickland was elected Assistant Secretary.

### **Resolution on Puerto Rico.**

The Resolutions Committee, through Hoehn, reported a resolution by Santiago Iglesias, the delegate from Puerto Rico. Some objection was made to the phraseology, especially to the word "un-American" as applied to the treatment of the Puerto Ricans by the administration — the delegates evidently being of the mind that such tyranny has now become very thoroughly American, as shown in the Coeur d'Alenes and elsewhere in the United States. The word was finally stricken out and the resolution adopted as follows:

*Whereas*, the wage-working people of Puerto Rico are in a deplorable condition, owing to capitalist rule and exploitation;

*Whereas*, the present administration, under the pretext of giving to Puerto Ricans a free government, is making every possible attempt to destroy the trade union movement and prevent all labor and Socialist agitation;

*Whereas*, the organized workingmen of Puerto Rico, and especially the Socialists, have been persecuted and ill-treated in the most shameful and disgraceful manner by the political and military tools of the present administration; therefore be it

*Resolved*, that we hereby enter our most emphatic protest against the brutal action of the administration;

*Resolved*, that we appeal to the organized wage workers of Puerto Rico to continue their struggle for the right of organization and for the emancipation of labor;

*Resolved*, that we appeal to organized labor of America to assist their hard-struggling brothers of Puerto Rico and to call a halt to the brutalities and crimes committed by the administration against the working people of Puerto Rico;

*Resolved*, that we ask the American Federation of Labor to unite with the Socialists of Puerto Rico in organizing the working class, industrially and politically, as their only hope of emancipation lies in such industrial and political organization.

Comrade Robinson (Kentucky) introduced a resolution requesting the delegates to patronize union barber shops during their stay in the city and inviting the barbers to study Socialism. This was adopted.

One of the Indianapolis papers having printed a ridiculous report to the effect that Eugene V. Debs had been turned down by the convention, Hoehn of St. Louis introduced the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

Be not deceived by false newspaper reports. Unity convention is harmonious and enthusiastic. The union of Socialist forces will soon be an accomplished fact. Convention sends cordial greetings. You have our esteem and love now, as you have always had. Three cheers for the International Socialist movement and the social revolution. United we stand.

Later in the day the following reply was received from Comrade Debs:

The expression of the convention is gratifying in the extreme. May a united and harmonious party crown your labors. Press reports do not disturb me. I am a Socialist. A thousand thanks to the delegates for their personal expression. But for illness in my family I would be with you.

To a large majority of the delegates who know that Comrade Debs is more strongly entrenched in the love and esteem of the people and of Socialists than ever before, the incident served as a passing amusement. His absence was deeply regretted by nearly all other delegates, irrespective of factions.

### **The Negro Question.**

One of the most interesting discussions followed the introduction of a resolution on the negro question. There were three colored delegates in the convention — Costley of San Francisco and Adams and McKay of Indiana, the two latter being coal miners. A resolution submitted by the committee was not satis-

factory to these delegates, and they spoke in a manner which commanded attention and evoked loud applause. Their remarks showed a firm grasp of Socialism and of the Social conception of the race question. The resolution was finally tabled. Costley then introduced a resolution on the negro question, but this was also tabled, as the delegates believed it hardly suitable for agitation purposes. A special committee, consisting of Hampton, Lux, Costley, Wanhope, and Spring was then elected to draft an address to the negro voters, with the assistance of the colored delegates.†

Many messages of greeting and congratulation were received during the day. Julius Zorn, National Secretary of the United Brewery Workmen, expressed himself thus: "Three cheers for International Socialism! We are for unity every time." Other messages were from the German branch in Philadelphia and from organizations and individual Socialists in Washington, Montana, Oregon, California, and Texas.

The convention was now ready for the report of the Committee on Platform, which was read by Comrade Margaret Haile. The reading being finished, there followed one of the most interesting debates ever heard in a Socialist gathering in the United States. It related to the practical working program, or "immediate demands," the question being: "Shall the platform contain immediate demands?" The majority committee report favored the demands. Comrade Simons, for the minority, moved to strike them out.‡ He supported his motion in a speech that elicited loud applause from the "revolutionary" delegates. Hoehn of St. Louis followed in support of the demands. Then the Chairman was kept busy for an hour making up the list of those desiring to speak and not less than 35 had their names put down. It was decided to take a vote at 11:45 Wednesday morning [Aug. 31, 1901], also to hold a night session to permit full discussion on the motion.

Among those who spoke to retain the "demands"

were McCartney, Berger, Goebel, Hillquit, Morgan, and Sieverman; against them were Murphy, Clemens, McSweeney, Backus, and others. At the evening session Comrade Herron advocated the adoption of the explanatory clause which appears at the close of the platform and several of the opponents of "demands" expressed themselves willing to accept the platform practically as reported if this clause were inserted.

Wednesday morning the debated was resumed until the hour arrived for taking the vote. The vote stood at 5,358 [proxies] for retaining the demands and 1,325 for striking them out.

### **The Platform.**

The Socialists of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of productions were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the workers, and it divides society into two hostile classes — the capitalists and wage workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of completion. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of government, the press, the pulpit, and to schools, and enables them to reduce the working men to a state of intellectual, physical, and social inferiority, political subservience, and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the

†- **William Costley** was the first black American to run for public office as a Socialist (California Assembly, 1902) and the first black District Organizer in the American Communist movement (United Communist Party DO-10 [San Francisco], March 1921, pseudonym "W.W."). He was also the author of a pamphlet, *The Plan of Laughing Land, or, The Science of Political Economy in a Nut Shell* (1906).

‡- The Socialist Labor Party, an organization to which Simons had belonged, adopted a program dropping all minimum demands in 1900, a fact which was no doubt influenced the debate at the founding convention of the Socialist Party. There had previously been an ongoing battle over this matter inside the SLP since the early 1880s, with the organization moving back and forth on the question of ameliorative reform — from Lasallean political action to Anarchist-flavored anti-politics and back. In 1889 the SLP had split largely over this very question, with the anti-reform Left Wing of Schevitsch and Sanial emerging triumphant. The subsequent decade had been marked by the rapid growth of the party and the gradual reemergence of a new Right Wing. This resurgent Right Wing (called "Kangaroos" by their detractors) ultimately split the SLP again in 1899-1900, later emerging as the Springfield SDP.

capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition of Socialism also depends upon the stage of the development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its position and to elect Socialists to political offices in order to facilitate the attainment of the end.

*As such means we advocate:*

1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue therefrom to be used on the reduction of taxes of the capitalist class, but the entire revenue to be applied first, to the increase of wages and the shortening of the hours of labor by the employees and then to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production, to decrease the share of the capitalist class and to increase the share of the workers in the product of their labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness, and want in old age, the revenue therefor to be derived from the government.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose, in order that the workers may receive the product of their toil.

5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing, and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in making these demands as steps in the overthrow of capital and in the establishment of the Cooperative Commonwealth, we warn the people against the public ownership demands made by capitalistic political parties, which always result in perpetuating the capitalist system

through compromise or defect of the Socialist revolution.

When the debate on "demands" ended, the vote was taken by roll call and stood as follows:

	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Chicago .....	1,247	142
Springfield .....	3,936	1,012
Independents .....	175	171
<b>TOTAL .....</b>	<b>5,358</b>	<b>1,325</b>

Comrade Max Hayes of Cleveland was elected Chairman of the Day Wednesday [July 31, 1901]. After the adoption of the platform, the report of the Committee on Constitution was in order. The first paragraph, changing the name from Social Democratic to Socialist Party, brought Comrade Berger to his feet. He moved to amend by substituting Social Democratic. After a lively discussion the convention adopted the paragraph as read and the name is the Socialist Party of America.

### **National Constitution.**

The Constitution provides for a National Committee of 1 from each state and territory, a National Secretary with a salary of \$1,000 a year, locates headquarters at St. Louis, and establishes state autonomy. There was a disposition on the part of a few delegates to form a strong centralized organization, but an overwhelming majority followed the lead of the Chicago wing for state autonomy. The constitution as adopted reads as follows:

### **Constitution.**

[1.] The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party of America, except in states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

[2.] There shall be a National Committee, composed of 1 member from each organized state or territory, and a Quorum of 5 to be elected from the membership of the locality of the seat of the committee.

[3.] The members of this Committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent by referendum vote. Their term of office shall not be more than 2 years and they shall take their seats in the month of January.

[4.] This Committee shall meet in regular session not oftener than once a year. Special meetings shall be called

at the request of a majority of members of such Committee.

[5.] The duties of this Committee shall be to supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, to represent the party in all national and international affairs, to organize unorganized states and territories, to call national nominating conventions and special conventions called by referendum of the party and to submit questions to referendum, to receive semi-annual reports from the state committees, and to make reports to national conventions. Any member of the National Committee not a member of the Local Quorum may require the Secretary to submit to a vote of the whole National Committee questions as to the removal of the Local Committee or the Secretary, also for its consideration any part of the work of the Secretary or of the Local Committee or any business belonging to the National Committee.

[6.] The National Committee shall elect a Committee of 5 from the party membership of the locality selected for party headquarters to supervise and assist the Secretary as the National Committee shall require and direct. Said Committee of 5 shall form part of and be a quorum of the National Committee, but shall be subject to removal at any time by the National Committee. On the question of removal the said Local Quorum shall have no vote. This Committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

[7.] The National Secretary shall be elected by the National Committee, and shall be subject to removal at its discretion.

[8.] In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least 10 local organizations in different parts of the state or territory, respectively, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization, and financial affairs within such state or territory, and the National Executive Committee and sub-committees or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.

[9.] Expenses of the National Committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the national treasury.

[10.] The National Secretary shall be in communication with the matters of the National Committee, the officers of the organized states and territories, and with members in unorganized states and territories. The Secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of \$1,000 annually.

[11.] Headquarters shall be in St. Louis. But said headquarters may be changed by the National Committee, subject to a referendum of the party.

[12.] Each state or territory may organize in such way or manner, and under such rules and regulations, as it may determine, but not in conflict with the provisions of this constitution.

[13.] A state or territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not

less than 4 branches, each branch to consist of not less than 5 members. Each state or territory so organized shall receive a charter.

[14.] The platform of the Socialist Party, adopted in convention or by referendum vote, shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal organizations shall, in the adoption of their platforms, conform thereto.

[15.] The State Committee shall pay to the National Committee every month a sum equal to 5 cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

[16.] The Secretary shall prepare a monthly statement of the financial and other business of his office, and when approved by the Local Quorum of 5 shall issue the same to all party organizations in such way as the National Committee shall direct.

[17.] The National Committee shall prepare a semi-annual report of all the financial and other business of the party and issue the same to all state and territorial organizations.

[18.] The State Committees shall make semi-annual reports to the National Committee concerning their membership, financial condition, and general standing of the party.

[19.] The National Committee shall also arrange a system of financial secretaries' and treasurers' books for Locals, the same to be furnished at cost to Locals upon application.

[20.] This constitution may be amended by a national convention, subject to a majority referendum vote of the party or by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the National Committee to submit such amendment to a referendum vote within 30 days after being requested to do so by 5 Locals in 3 different states.

[21.] All acts of the National Committee shall be subject to referendum vote after the same manner as provided in the preceding section.

[22.] All propositions or other matters submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment.

[23.] The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state being entitled to 1 delegate at large and 1 additional delegate for every 100 members in good standing.

Comrade Philip S. Brown was elected Chairman on Thursday [Aug. 1, 1901], the last day of the convention. Resolutions heartily endorsing the trade union movement were adopted and all Socialists urged to identify themselves with organized labor.

### **National Secretary Elected.**

The report of the Committee on Constitution recommended that the convention elect a Secretary and locate headquarters, and that when 10 states have re-elected their National Committeemen the National Committee shall be considered formed, but no state shall elect its Committeeman before the 1st of September, 1901.

In accordance with the above recommendation to elect a Secretary, Comrade Leon Greenbaum was chosen by acclamation.

The following St. Louis comrades were elected a provisional Committee of 5, to act until the election of National Committeemen Feb. 22, 1902: Baird, Hoehn, Hildebrand, Putnam, and Dunn. The committee will also revise the proceedings of the convention. The proceedings were taken in shorthand by a professional reporter employed by the Joint Committee of Arrangements.

To emphasize the fact that the various parties represented had formed a complete unity, subject to a referendary vote of the Chicago wing, the following resolution was adopted amidst great enthusiasm:

*Resolved*, that the Social Democratic Party, with headquarters at Springfield, Mass.; the Social Democratic Party, with headquarters at Chicago; the Socialist Party of the state of Texas; the Social Democratic Party of the states of Kentucky, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, hereby surrender their separate and independent existence and merge and amalgamate into one organization.

The question of the location of headquarters came up Thursday [Aug. 1] at a time when many of the delegates had left for home. There was great interest shown in its settlement by those remaining — Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Davenport being mentioned. Strong arguments were advanced in favor of Chicago as the most suitable place, but in the end St. Louis won over Chicago by a vote of 3510 against 3080, the determining vote, 483, being cast by Comrade Iglesias of Puerto Rico.

The convention by resolution decided the new party shall pay the outstanding obligations of the old organizations and all office appointments and property will be turned over to the St. Louis office, except lists and books pertaining to membership, the new party standing upon the principle of state autonomy.

Other resolutions adopted were against injunctions and an irresponsible judiciary, prohibiting Socialists joining any armed force of the capitalist class, favoring the trade union movement and advising Socialists to join the unions as economic agencies, expressing sympathy with the negro race, condemning the record of the administration in Puerto Rico, and prohibiting Socialist accepting positions under the patronage system controlled by capitalist parties.

The injunction resolution as adopted reads as follows:

*Whereas*, the injunction has become, in the hands of the judiciary, an instrument by which the capitalist class seeks to destroy the civil and political rights of the workingmen;

*Resolved*, that we, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, call the attention of the working class to the fact that our judiciary is but a servile tool in the hands of the capitalist class and hostile to the interests of labor, and we call upon the working class to use the ballot in defense of their own interests by voting the Socialist ticket.

The convention adjourned late Thursday night [Aug. 1] with songs and ringing cheers for the social revolution and the united party. Every comrade was, so far as we were able to learn, well satisfied with the result, although the opponents of "immediate demands" promise to keep up the fight on that issue.

With greetings to comrades everywhere the *Herald* now resumes its work for International Socialism and the Socialist Party of America.

### **Trade Unionists and Socialism.**

The trades union movement and independent political action are the emancipating factors of the wage working class. The trade union movement is the natural result of capitalist production and represents the economic side of the working class movement. We consider it the duty of Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trade and labor organizations. We recognize that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned.

We call the attention of the trade unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trade union forces today, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will only come to an end when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trade unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Socialist Party and assist in building upon a strong political movement of the wage-working class,

whose ultimate aims and object must be the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of a cooperative state of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution.

### Convention Notes.

Eugene V. Debs was prevented by illness in his family from attending the convention. His views on the outcome will be found in an article written for the *Herald*, which appears elsewhere.†

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Theodore Debs was called away Wednesday [July 31, 1901] by the death of Mrs. Debs' father at Denver, Col. He left Thursday morning for Denver, where he remained all of this week.

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National Secretary Greenbaum's address is 4014-A Evans Avenue, St. Louis, where the headquarters are temporarily located.

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Comrade Herron contributed \$200 towards a fund to enable the committee to inaugurate its work.

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Morris Hillquit easily took the lead of the Springfield delegates. He is cool and analytical, a clever phrasemaker and clear in the statement of his views.

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Seven members of the Socialist Party of Chicago went to Indianapolis on bicycles. They started Tuesday morning of the week before the convention [July 23, 1901] and had a red-hot time in more ways than the weather imposed. At every important town on the trip propaganda meetings were held.

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Comrade McSweeney, who found himself in the minority on "immediate demands," mad a hit in his 10 minute talk on municipal rabbits, municipal mut-ton, and municipal rat-traps.

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The delegates present from Chicago and representing the Social Democratic Party were Mrs. Corinne Brown, Philip S. Brown, Theodore Debs, Seymour Stedman, C.T.H. Westphal, A.S. Edwards, W.J.

McSweeney, Charles Tyle, J.A. Ambrose. Wisconsin sent Elizabeth H. Thomas, Victor L. Berger, Emil Seidel, and A.B. Forman. Massachusetts was well represented by Margaret Haile and F.O. McCartney; Indiana by J.W. Kelly, James Oneal, Martin H. Wefel, and others; New York by M. Winchevsky; then came Ohio, Michigan, Connecticut, New Jersey, Missouri, Kansas, and other states, running up the total number of delegates representing the Chicago wing to nearly 50.

### *Indianapolis Journal's Comment.*

The *Indianapolis Journal*, which published every day very good reports of the convention, had the following to say editorially:

If the *Journal* correctly understands the object of the Socialist convention, which met in this city yesterday, it is to harmonize and bring together on a united platform of action the different social organizations of the country and, if possible to absorb the labor unions. If this were done it would result in a formidable class movement. In a free country, where universal suffrage prevails and where all shades of political opinion find expression by organization, socialism must be reckoned with among others. The word has a bad odor imported from Europe, where it is closely allied with anarchism.

The Socialist movement in this country seems to be aiming at the abolition of private ownership of land and at government ownership of public utilities. The platform of the Social Democratic Party contained, among others, the following declaration:

*"The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes — the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the race of competition. Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political and the other its economic wing."*

The platform further declared in favor of the abolition of the wage system and the common ownership of the means of production and distribution.

It is well enough to recall such declarations as these to show what kind of ideas are taking root in the country. The delegates who have just assembled here from various parts of the country are earnest, and some of them are able men. They think they know what they want, and they are getting together. Men do not travel a long distance in such weather as this and in an off year in politics for fun. If they succeed in forming a political alliance with the labor unions they will become at once a power in politics.

†- Illegible on the microfilm, although one can make out interesting tidbits such as (1) "the new name of the party is more suitable than the old," (2) the platform "is not the less revolutionary because of the 'demands' attached," and (3) "the national headquarters are well located in St. Louis." It remains possible that the original damaged page (which was poorly filmed besides) now sitting at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, is readable.

### **List of Delegates.**

Following is a full list of the delegates to the convention. The figures after each name indicates the number of members represented by the delegate. Where no figures are given the comrade represented only himself:

#### ***Chicago Faction. [47]***

CONNECTICUT — J. W. Brown, <illeg.>  
 MICHIGAN — William L. Benessi, Kalamazoo, 51?  
 NEW JERSEY — George H. Goebel, Newark, <illeg.>  
 NEW YORK — M. Winchevsky, New York, <illeg.>  
 KENTUCKY — Adam L. Nagel, <illeg.>  
 KANSAS — <illeg. name>, Topeka, <illeg.>  
 ILLINOIS — Theodore Debs; Charles Eichhorn, Staunton, 51; J.A. Ambrose, 107; Charles Tyle, 10; Corinne S. Brown, 8; S. Stedman, 45; E. Backus, 50; M.J. McSweeney, 2; Philip S. Brown, 2; A.S. Edwards, 5; O.T. Westphal, 33. (All except Eichhorn were from Chicago.)  
 INDIANA — John H. Adams, Brazil, 13; J.H. Arnold, Terre Haute, 3; Adrian Babcock, Indianapolis; Martha A. Beigler, Indianapolis; Edward H. Evinger, Terre Haute, 21; R. Greiling, Indianapolis, 7; J.H. Hollingsworth, South Bend, 4; Theodore Heberlein, Indianapolis, 6; Richard Hinze, Indianapolis, 5; J.W. Kelly, Marion, 14; H.R. Kepler, Richmond, 8; Edward D. McKay, Richmond; E.H. Meyer, Evansville, 19; Hugo Miller, Indianapolis, 8; James Oneal, Terre Haute, 18; H.W. Smith, Clay City, 6; Leroy E. Snyder, South Bend, 4; Charles A. Thornton, Indianapolis, 18; Martin H. Wefel, Fort Wayne, 14.  
 MASSACHUSETTS — Margaret Haile, Roxbury, 8; Frederic O. McCartney, Rockland, 110.  
 OHIO — Anthony Bury, 2; J.W. Dennis, 4; Harry C. Thompson, 11; Robert J. Waite, 7. (All from Cincinnati.)  
 WISCONSIN — Victor L. Berger, 162; C.A. Born, Sheboygan, 100; Albert J. Forman, 49; Emil Seidel, 121; Elizabeth H. Thomas, 114. (All from Milwaukee except Born.)

#### ***Springfield Faction.***

CALIFORNIA — William E. Costley, San Francisco, 90; Harry Ryan, San Jose, 38; F.J. Spring, Los Angeles, 132; H. Gaylord Wilshire, Los Angeles, 47.

CONNECTICUT — William E. White, New Haven, 168.

ILLINOIS — James H. Bard, 13; John Collins, 106; E.A. Gasdt; M. Jacker, 5; A. Kienke, 51; Joseph Leisbert; Sula Lowrie; C.F. Lowrie; W.T. Mills, 108; Thomas J. Morgan, 98; M.L. Morris; Marcus Hitch; E. Richter, 95; J.W. Saunders; A.M. Simons, 106; Fred G. Strickland, 94; John R. Touse; Julius Vahlteich, 29; Jos. Wanhope; John Will; William H. Wise; D.M. Smith. (All from Chicago.)

INDIANA — William L. Hamilton, 13.

MAINE — Fred E. Irish, <illeg.>

MASSACHUSETTS — E.S. Brooks, Springfield, <illeg.>; William Butscher, 14; James F. Carey, Haverhill, 115; S.E. Putney, Somerville, 85; Silvio Origo, Springfield, <illeg.>.

MICHIGAN — Clarence Neeley, Saginaw, 72.

MINNESOTA — J.E. Nash, Minneapolis, <illeg.>

MISSOURI — W.H. Baird, 23; M. Ballard Dunn; Leon Greenbaum, 7; W.J. Hager; G.A. Hoehn, 38; E.T. Behrens, Sedalia, 45; C. Lipscomb, Liberal, 24; R. Murphy; E. Val Putnam, 20; George H. Turner, Kansas City, 90; Otto Vierling. (From St. Louis, unless otherwise designated.)

NEW JERSEY — Carl Pankopf, West Hoboken, 149; Ernest Schilling, Newark, 126.

OHIO — W.C. Benton, Cincinnati, 15; W.C. Edwards, Portsmouth, 27; Samuel Ernst, Toledo, 48; John Evans, Massillon, 7; Max S. Hayes, Cleveland, 329; Mrs. M.S. Hayes; Charles R. Martin, Toledo, 49; Martha H. McHugh, Cleveland; Alois Nick, 15; E.H. Randall, Springfield.

PENNSYLVANIA — Charles Heydrick, Erie, 198.

TENNESSEE — John M. Ray, Nashville, 10.

WASHINGTON — E. Lux, Whatcom, 347.

PUERTO RICO — Santiago Iglesias, 483.

NEW YORK — L.D. Abbott, 197; Job Harriman, 343, Carrie Rand Herron; George Herron; Morris Hillquit, 337; William Mailly, 9; Frank A. Sieverman, Rochester, 158; Henry L. Slobodin, 334. (From New York City except Sieverman.)

#### ***Independent States.***

IOWA — W.A. Jacobs, Davenport, 41; John M. Work, Des Moines, 15.

KENTUCKY — Charles Dobbs, Louisville, 88; F.R. Merkert, Louisville, 37; F.L. Robinson, Louisville, 8; F.E. Seeds, Covington, 22.

TEXAS — S.J. Hampton, Bonham, 171.

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# Constitution of the Socialist Party of America:

## Adopted in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., August 1, 1901 — as revised.

As published in *The Socialist* [Seattle] whole no. 194 (April 24, 1904), pg. 4.  
Material added subsequently to the original August 1901 version appears here in *italics*.  
Material subsequently deleted from the Aug. 1901 version appears here ~~struck through~~.

### Article I. Name.

The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party of America, except in states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

### Article II. National Committee.

*Section 1.* There shall be a National Committee, composed of 1 member from each organized state or territory, and a Quorum of 5 to be elected from the membership of the locality of the seat of the committee.

*Section 2.* The members of this committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent by referendum vote. Their term of office shall not be more than 2 years, and they shall take their seats in the month of January.

*Section 3.* This committee shall meet in regular session not oftener than once a year. Special meetings shall be called at the request of a majority of members of such committee.

*Section 4.* Expenses of the National Committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid

from the national treasury.†

~~{¶2.} The National Committee shall prepare a semi-annual report of all the financial and other business of the party and issue the same to all state and territorial organizations.‡~~

### Article III. Duties and Powers.

*Section 1.* The duties of this committee shall be to supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary; to represent the party in all national and international affairs; to organize unorganized states and territories; to call national nominating conventions and special conventions called by referendum of the party, and to submit questions to referendum; to receive semi-annual reports from the state committees and to make reports to national conventions.

*Section 2.* Any member of the National Committee, not a member of the Local Quorum, may require the Secretary to submit to a vote of the whole National Committee questions as to the removal of the Local Committee or the Secretary; also for its consideration any part of the work of the Secretary or of the Local Committee, or any business belonging to the National Committee.

*Section 3.* The National Committee shall also

†- This provision was originally paragraph 7 of "Duties and Powers" in the Aug. 1901 Constitution.

‡- This provision was originally paragraph 2 of "Reports" in the Aug. 1901 Constitution.

arrange a system of financial secretaries' and treasurers' books for locals, the same to be furnished at cost to locals upon application.

*Section 4.* The National Committee ~~This committee~~ shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

#### **Article IV. Local Quorum.**

*Section 1.* The National Committee shall elect a committee of 5 from the party membership of the locality selected for the party headquarters to supervise and assist the Secretary as the National Committee shall require and direct. Said committee of 5 shall form part of and be a quorum of the National Committee, but shall be subject to removal at any time by the National Committee. On the question of removal the said Local Quorum shall have no vote. †

*"The Local Quorum until the next National Convention shall be composed of the members of the National Committee from the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa, and Kentucky."*  
—Resolution adopted in spring of 1903.

*Section 2.* Any member of the National Committee not a member of the Local Quorum may require the National Secretary to submit to a vote of the whole National Committee questions as to the removal of the local committee or the National Secretary; also for its consideration any part of the work of the National Secretary or of the local committee or any business belonging to the National Committee

#### **Article V. National Secretary.**

*Section 1.* The National Secretary shall be elected by the National Committee, ~~and shall be~~

~~subject to removal at its discretion; his term of office to be for one year, beginning with the year 1902. The National Secretary shall be subject to removal at the committee's discretion.~~

*Section 2.* The National Secretary shall be in communication with the matters of the National Committee, the officers of the organized states and territories, and with members in unorganized states and territories. The National Secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of \$1,000 annually.

~~[§1.] The Secretary shall prepare a monthly statement of the financial and other business of his office, and when approved by the Local Quorum of 5 shall issue the same to all party organizations, in such way as the National Committee shall direct. §~~

#### **Article VI. State Organizations.**

*Section 1.* Each state or territory may organize in such way or manner, and under such rules and regulations, as it may determine, but not in conflict with the provisions of this constitution.

*Section 2.* A state or territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not less than 4 branches, each branch to consist of not less than 5 members. Each state or territory so organized shall receive a charter. ‡

*Section 4. [sic.]* In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least 10 local organizations in different parts of such state or territory respectively, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining

†- This section was originally paragraph 3 of "Duties and Powers" in the Aug. 1901 Constitution. "Article IV — Local Quorum" did not appear in the original document.

‡- This section was originally paragraphs 1 and 2 of "Affiliation of States and Territories" in the Aug. 1901 Constitution.

§- This section was originally paragraph 1 of "Reports" in the Aug. 1901 Convention.

to the propaganda, organization, and financial affairs within such state or territory, and the National Committee and sub-committees or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.†‡

*Section 5.* The State Committees shall make semi-annual reports to the National Committee concerning their membership, financial condition, and general standing of the party.§

*Section 6.* The State Committees ~~Each state or territory~~ shall pay in to the National Committee every month a sum equal to 5 cents for every member in good standing within ~~the respective state or territory~~ their respective territories.Δ

~~{§3.} The platform of the Socialist Party, adopted in convention or by referendum vote, shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal organizations shall, in the adoption of their platforms, conform thereto.◇~~

## **Article VII. Headquarters.**

*The headquarters shall be located at Chicago, Ill. (Adopted by Referendum, 1904).* ~~Headquarters shall be located at St. Louis, Missouri.~~ But said headquarters may be changed by the National Committee, subject to a referendum of the party.

## **Article VIII. Amendments.**

This constitution may be amended by a National Convention, subject to a majority referendum vote of the party or by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the National Committee to submit such amendment to a referendum vote within 30 days after being requested to do so by 5 locals in 3 different states.

## **Article IX. Referendum.**

*Section 1.* All acts of the National Committee shall be subject to referendum vote after the same manner as provided in the preceding section.

*Section 2.* All propositions or other matters submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment.

## **Article X. Basis of Representation.**

The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state being entitled to 1 delegate at large and 1 additional delegate for every 100 members in good standing.

†- This "state autonomy" provision originally appeared as paragraph 6 of "Duties and Powers" in the Aug. 1901 Constitution.

‡- Footnote by Hermon Titus: "An amendment to this section was adopted, allowing the National Committee to send speakers to a Local at the special request of said Local. We cannot find a copy of it."

§- Formerly paragraph 3 of an article entitled "Reports" in the Aug. 1901 Constitution.

Δ- This provision appeared as an article entitled "Revenue" in the Aug. 1901 Constitution.

◇- This provision appeared as paragraph 3 of "Affiliation of States and Territories" in the Aug. 1901 Constitution.

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